1: Burrows--96-97 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 613, 592 Ifalik

"The people who inherit a homestead from generation to generation--as distinguished from husbands who come in by matrilocal residence--are all related by common descent in the maternal line. They are members, not only of the same clan, but of a subdivision of the clan, descended from a common ancestress less remote than the clan's traditional founder.

Although in Ifalik descent is not memorized by means of genealogies, the heirs to most of the homesteads are so closely related that a common ancestress is either alive or at least remembered by living descendants. In the three households which consist of simple families, the common ancestress--since husbands are excluded by definition --is of course the mother. These households conform to type only if they are living on her ancestral homestead. Otherwise they will found a new line if the women stay on the same homestead, whatever its previous history, for more than a generation. In nearly all of the 17 households which consist of extended families, the common ancestress is either the oldest living woman or--when there is more than one in the oldest generation, or its only representative is a man--the mother of the oldest members. In only a few cases is the common ancestress more than one generation earlier than the oldest living resident. Similarly, in most of the households which have an extended family as a nucleus, the members of this nucleus have a common ancestress within two or three generations. It is only in the few atypical households, in which residence [97] other than matrilocal predominates, that a common ancestress is either lacking or too

remote to be remembered.

Unless the homestead has been settled or reoccupied within a few generations, the remembered common ancestress was not the founder of the line. In homesteads long occupied, the line extends back farther than the people can trace it. Attached to each homestead are one or more ghosts, ancestral members of the line, thought to be still active for good or evil. Some of these, too, were in the flesh within memory of the living. But others seem to be more ancient, so that the connection can no longer be traced.

For lack of a better name, such a line of heirs to a homestead will be called a lineage. That term has been variously defined, and the Ifalik line of descent does not fit all the definitions. But it conforms to the broader ones. *"

"* Lowie has recently proposed the term 'kin' for groups of this character when the members can not trace relationship to a common ancestor. The groups he has in mind are commonly clusters of lineages, not only larger but more complex than those united by inheritance of an Ifalik homestead. It seems clearer here to retain the term 'lineage', which is in use for similar groups elsewhere in the Carolines. The Ifalik group could be made to conform to Lowie's definition of a lineage by excluding from membership ancestors whose genealogical position has been forgotten. But in Ifalik ghosts of some such ancestors are believed to be still active members of the group."

1: Burrows--97 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 613, 423 Ifalik

"On Ifalik the lineage is not clearly conceived as a descent group. The clan, which includes a number of lineages, is the only such group which is distinct in native thought. Lineages have no names. They are designated by the names of the homesteads they occupy. Thus they are not distinguished from extended families, although they differ from these in two respects: first, by including the dead; and second, by excluding husbands related only by marriage.

Nor was any name found for 'lineage' in general, to correspond to kailang for clan. The nearest I came to such a term was in a phrase expressing the preferred type of adoption, which is within the lineage: vam a li nibwogot. Vam means adoption or, with a possessive form, adopted child. A li are, as nearly as our grammatical terms can describe them, a preposition and definite article, which can be translated here as 'according-to-the-'. Ni is another preposition, 'in' or 'within'. Bwogot, usually followed by a possessive suffix, is the name for most of the real property inherited within a lineage. It includes the homestead, one or more separate tracts of coconut land (Tom usually translated it 'coconut land'); also, if I understand it rightly, any breadfruit groves not on the homestead; but not the tracts of hereditary taro swamp (bwēl), although these are inherited in the same way. The English word which comes nearest to translating bwogot (though too broad) is 'estate.' So the phrase vam a li nibwogot can be clumsily translated 'adoption according to the within-the-estate (plan).' This labored

attempt at translation seems worth while in order to show that native thought is focussed on the property, and uses it, perhaps unawares, as a symbol for the lineage within which the property is inherited."

1: Burrows--97-98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 613, 423 Ifalik

"Although 'lineage' is an abstraction made by the ethnographer and not, at least explicitly, by the people themselves, adoption is only one of several ways in which it affects individual lives. The most important, because it governs the main source of subsistence, is inheritance of homesteads and food-producing land. In the realm of government, although chiefly titles are talked of as attributes of the clan, they are actually held within the lineage. Only the members of the clan's senior lineage are eligible to the succession. And in the realm of religion, ghosts of ancestors associated with homesteads--that is, in effect, with lineages--are among the supernatural beings most likely to affect [98] the lives of the living."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 613, 592 Ifalik

"Although descent, inheritance, and succession are mainly matrilineal, the father's homestead and lineage are by no means ignored. The father's share in procreation is recognized. The father, by matrilocal residence, lives on the same homestead, usually in the same one-room dwelling, as the rest of the family. And he is not merely tolerated there, like an interloper. He is as much at home as those who inherited the site, and has as much authority in ordinary household affairs as men of about his age in the mother's lineage.

Yet he has not lost either rights or obligations toward his own maternal lineage and homestead. And some of this is passed on to his children. Thus everyone inherits, through his father, a kind of secondary membership in the father's household. The parade of a girl to her father's homestead at the conclusion of her first menstruation ceremony has already been mentioned as a token of this relationship. Both boys and girls feel some obligation to contribute their services, and some claim to share in the products, of their fathers' households. The father's death weakens this relationship but does not end it. For the next generation, though, it dies out almost entirely. Only in exceptional circumstances would either obligations or privileges toward the people and property of one's paternal grandfather by strong enough to lead to action."

"Homesteads are spoken of as belonging to particular clans. Again the association with rank in the case of Kovalū and SauvelārIk provides the clearest cases. The homestead Uelepī, as just noted, is said to be tabu to all but members of the clan and the husbands of the women--women of the senior lineage of Kovalū--who live there. SauvelārIk has a similar homestead, Tom hastened to assure me--Bwagolei, inland from the men's house, a site no longer inhabited.

In the beginning of our census by households, Tom said that the homestead Ilux, where the highest chief, Wolpetau, lived, 'blong Wolpetau.' [109] He added that it was a homestead of the clan Bwēl. But Wolpetau's clan is Kovalū. In living at Ilux, his wife's ancestral homestead, he follows the custom of matrilocal residence. The homestead 'belongs to him' in the sense that he lives there and, being the senior male, may have the final word, if he cares to, about household activities other than routine.

When we came to the homestead Val i Trel, Tom said 'Blong WolpaitIk', though WolpaitIk lives at Uelepī. This is ownership in another sense. Val i Trel is WolpaitIk's ancestral homestead, but, following the custom of matrilocal residence, he has not lived there since he married. How much interest he takes in the affairs of the household is a matter of choice with him. Any wish of his would be respected, and might well be carried out. But ordinary affairs of this household would only concern him by way of his responsibility for his sister, who lives at Val i Trel. If the sister had sons,

WolpaitIk would have an additional interest on their behalf; but as it happens she is childless.

These cases illustrate a point already made in the discussion of homestead, household, and lineage. Homesteads are occupied and used by households, which are typically extended families; and they are inherited within maternal lineages. For practical purposes that statement covers the question of actual ownership, as distinguished from the imputed ownership by clans or individuals. In other words, title to the homestead is inherited within a group whose existence the natives never explicitly acknowledge--the lineage. Usufruct of it belongs to the household."

"A man will say bwogotai--'my coconut land', as Tom translated it-- either of tracts in which he has inherited a share through his mother, or tracts inherited in his wife's lineage, in which he shares the usufruct by virtue of living on her homestead and gathering coconuts and breadfruit for the household. When Tom said of a bit of coconut land through which we were passing, 'This my land', I asked him if it belonged to him and nobody else. He answered, 'Me and my sister and my sister's boy,' the lineage again. I happen not to have a specific statement referring to land of the wife's lineage, but general discussions of the matter suggest that he might say first 'This my land'; then, if pressed, 'blong my wife and my boy.'

Ownership and inheritance of tracts in the taro swamp conform to the same rule. But in this case they are verbalized differently. Taro patches are spoken of as the property of any of the women who work them, or of their clan. Thus when Tom and his wife Lagajarong took us through the taro swamp so that she might give us a demonstration of weeding and planting, he said of the particular tracts we visited, not 'my land' but 'blong my wife.' He added proudly that she had inherited seven such patches. To my usual follow-up question, he said they were patches belonging to her clan, Mangaulevar. When he pointed out a particularly large stretch as belonging to Wolpetau, I unfortunately failed to follow up the statement; but suspect that this land, or at least some of it, was inherited by Wolpetau's wife as a member of a lineage of Bwèl clan.

Members of that clan, traditionally associated with taro culture and now reduced to 11 members, probably have more taro land than they can care for. In this case, probable reasons for naming the chief rather than his wife as owner are his rank and the fact that as a public figure he was well known to me, while his wife was not."

1: Burrows--110
116, 241, 423, 613

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Certain coconut trees are owned and inherited in a special way. Although the run of the trees in the coconut groves 'go with the land' according to the scheme just described, custom allows any man to ask permission to plant coconuts on another's land. As far as learned, refusal of such a request is unheard-of. But such a planting would never be on a large scale. Only a small, even number of trees--usually two or four--will be planted. Half of them will belong to the owner of the land; more precisely, to his household and eventually his lineage. The other half will belong to the man who planted the nuts. And these will not be inherited according to the usual pattern, within his maternal lineage. They will pass to his son, and so on, patrilineally.

The advantage of this special kind of ownership is convenience. When a man gets thirsty, no matter where he is, he will probably own a coconut tree not far away where he can get a young nut to drink. Coconut trees and the fruit on them are very definitely not public property. Asked whether a man might take a nut from a tree that did not belong to him, Tom said 'very bad that.' Having a tree of your own nearby reduces temptation to steal."

1: Burrows--132
116, 613

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Within the clans, lineages rank according to traditional seniority. Even within lineages--or, what comes to nearly the same thing, households--there is a similar order among individuals. Insofar as the division of labor segregates men and women into separate groups, this small-scale hierarchy splits into two, one of men and one of women. It is unobtrusive, and may be weakened, perhaps even reversed occasionally, by individual differences. Yet it operates more continuously than the large-scale, comparatively formal hierarchy of chiefs and clans, because the individuals involved are interacting most of the time."

1: Burrows--179
116, 592, 613, 776

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"No individual names were recorded for one whole class of supernaturals, the ancestral ghosts associated with homesteads or lineages. There are said to be at least as many of these spirits as there are homesteads (twenty-nine occupied in 1947, several more that had been occupied within the memory of those living then.)"

28: Spiro--27-28 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 613 Ifalik

"More important than either the clan or the airo is the matrilineal lineage, known alternatively as Lebwutae ('my place'), or as Bwotae or Aramatae ('my people'), according to whether the reference is to the homestead or to the people. The lineage, by definition, includes a matrilineal descent group that is related by descent from one woman. Now, since marriage is matrilocal, with some exceptions, and since every homestead is named, this group is well defined. It includes all persons born of the women of a particular homestead, say that of Uelepi. When a man says that he is going to his 'Lebwutae', or that he does not commit some act because he would be shamed by his 'Aramatae', he refers, not to the house in which he lives, but to his maternal home, his matrilineal lineage. [28]

The clan, as we have seen, is not localized, persons from any clan living in all districts. Given the existence of matrilocality, the lineage is not localised either, but it does enjoy a certain localization, in that all the women of the lineage, as well as the unmarried males, inhabit the homestead, and the men, though scattered, do have a focal, geographic, point of reference, in that the homestead in which they were born, remains in the lineage in perpetuity, and thus serves as an integrating factor, in spacial terms. Thus, though my aramatae are scattered, my lebwutae remains fixed."

28: Spiro--28
116, 613

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Reflection, as well as empirical evidence, reveals the relative instability of the lineage, as compared to the clan. The eight clans are fixed, and cannot be increased in number, though they can be decreased by the extinction of one or more clans. This seems to be the future fate of Kailangailuela, of which there are but three members, two of whom are women past their menopause. Normally, however, clan extinction is rare.

The number of lineages, on the other hand, may increase or decrease. Decrease, a priori, is more frequent in lineages than in clans, because of the small number of persons within any lineage. It seems, however, that the greater proportion of change in the number of lineages is by increase, which results from the setting up of new households. For a number of reasons, a person may break off from a household and construct a new house. At first this house is viewed as an extension of the parental homestead. After a time, however, this house assumes a special name, though it still looks to the original home as its source. But after the elapse of a few generations, this 'splinter group' becomes a homestead in its own right, and thereby becomes a new lineage group as well.

For example, Nesangogara married Taroman, and did not remain in her lineage house, but set up a new household, known as Warigin. Now, Warigin is actually in the lineage property of Taroman's lineage, Valevelu, but this new house now has its own name, the married daughters and their children live with their parents, and a new lineage has unquestionably been created."

28: Spiro--28 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 613 Ifalik

"The lineage is the most important group in Ifaluk. It regulates property, its members cooperate in economic functions, and it is a recognized religious grouping. These functions of the lineage will be dealt with under these separate categories.

The attachment of the person to his lineage and its house and district is revealed not only in terms of personal feelings, but in certain important activities. The men do most of their work and gossiping in the canoe-houses. Should a man marry a woman from another district, he usually returns daily to the canoe-house of his own district, not the one in whose district he is now living. In fishing expeditions, which are undertaken by districts, a man often fishes with the men of his lineage district rather than with those with whom he is at present living. Finally, in the dances, the men dance with men of their lineage district. This constant return to their own district indicates that the men feel a greater sense of affinity with the people with whom they were raised, but it also indicates the attachment to the lineage house in which he spent his formative years."

28: Spiro--30 [2]
116, 613, 604, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the first place, every homestead, which is really every lineage, has its tamon, its household chief, who is the eldest male of the house. Though descent is matrilineal, it is this eldest male, not female, who is the titular head of the lineage, who manages its property, settles intramural disputes, if any should arise, and in general is the overseer of its welfare. His visits to his Lebwutae, his parental home, is frequent, since his toddy is collected from the coconut trees which he inherits from his mother's grove, and he collects his toddy twice a day, so that he usually visits his homestead at least once, if not twice, a day. This frequenting of lineage house, that is, of his sisters and their children, is also characteristic of the other men of the lineage, for they, too, return to the district of their parental home to collect their toddy. And though, it is only the eldest male who is known as tamon, the others have an influence and an intimacy of relationship in the household that strangers do not have."

"But the intimacy of relationship consists of more than daily visit. There are certain mutual obligations, that obtain between brother and sister, which are not rigidly institutionalized, but which function as if they were. A man's sister, for example, prepares food and lavalavas for her brother. That is, when she prepares taro, say, she will bring a dish to her brother, or will offer it to him when he visits the lineage house. Of course, this practice is related to the rules of inheritance, because the taro patches are held in perpetuity in the lineage, but the women work the patches and prepare and consume the taro in their homes, that is, the matrilineal homestead. Legally, however, it is apparent that the men have as much preemtive right in the taro as the women, and the sister's preparation of food for her brother, therefore, is, from this point of view, an indication of that right. However, it involves more than this legal obligation, because this would only entail the offering of the raw taro, and not the cooking or preparation.

The sister also makes lavalavas for her brother. These are not for his wife's consumption, but are used by him as gifts to be presented to his clan members when he visits other islands.

In return the brother will bring gifts of fish to his sister, if he goes fishing by himself, and will bring her presents upon returning from a visit to another atoll.

The great intimacy of brother and sister is also revealed in case of illness. [31] It

is the sister who is most attentive to the needs of her sick brother. If his illness lingers on he returns to his lineage house, where his sisters care for him, devoting as much time and care as his wife.

This relationship, it is apparent, is far from the reciprocity that characterizes Trobrian society, for example, and the same is true of the relationship between the man and his sister's children. The real influence in the child's life, despite their different clan and lineage affiliations is his father, and his mother's sisters' husbands, and the role of the mother's brother is minimal, though not entirely absent, for the latter does assume certain economic responsibilities for him. A young man, constructing a canoe can expect to receive the assistance of his mother's brother, and conversely a man can expect the same assistance from his sister's son. But this reciprocity is not uniquely characteristic of these relatives, for a man expects and receives the same cooperation from his sister's husband, his wife's brother, his father, and his own sons.

The same is true of certain avoidance relationships between these groups of relatives. For example, it is strictly taboo to mention any sexual term, even indirectly, in the presence of one's sister's children. But this same taboo applies to your own children, as well as to your brother's children."

28: Spiro--43 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 423, 613 Ifalik

"Lineage property: The houses and taro patches are included in this category. Theoretically the house is owned by the eldest woman of the lineage, and at her death is inherited by the next oldest woman. This is just another way of saying, however, that it belongs to the matrilineal lineage, for it descends in that line in perpetuity. This means that the house in non-transferable, that it can not be bought or sold. Theoretically, the taro patches are owned by the men, but again analysis reveals that it is lineage property. The women of the man's household work his patch, the taro belongs to them, and they use it to feed the members of their household, including their husbands who are members of a different lineage. However, a woman gives some of the prepared taro to her brother indicating that it belongs to all the members of the lineage. That the taro patches belong to the lineage is also revealed by the fact that they descend to the man's sister's sons at his death."

28: Spiro--43 [4]
116, 423, 613

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Patrilineal group property: Coconut and breadfruit trees are owned by the males of a patrilineal descent group, so that a man's death, his trees descend to his son's and brother's sons, and like the taro-patches and houses, belong to this line perpetuity, being non-transferable."

28: Spiro--64 [2]
116, 755, 613, 784

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Aside from these important curing ceremonies, there are medicine ceremonies for the ill, in which only the lineage participates. They are held in the house of the sick person, and the house is taboo to any one but the participants.

There are other taboos associated with the making or consumption of medicine. After making medicine from herbs, there are periods of isolation, ranging from a day to a month--depending upon the nature of the medicine--during which time the person neither sleeps in his house, nor eats of its food.

The consumption of a certain medicine creates the taboo on eating food cooked on a fire of breadfruit wood, or taking a light from a breadfruit-punk fire."